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ANTIQUITIES OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA AND THE BORDER LANDS.

I.

It is impossible to discuss the southern cities and frontier of Phrygia without discussing the cities on the other side of the frontier. If the site of each city were proved by epigraphic evidence of the name, found on the spot, the case would be different: but a number of names can be placed only by balancing evidence, whose value depends on the ancient condition of a wide extent of country. It happens that the central cities of western Pamphylia (I use the word in the late-Roman and Byzantine sense) are almost all fixed by independent epigraphic evidence, but the Pamphylian cities on the Phrygian frontier can be placed only by an investigation extending over the entire province of Pamphylia Secunda. Hence, the rather complicated plan of the present paper is forced on me. I discuss the border, city by city, and, after fixing the position of each city, mention any facts about its history in ancient time which seem to be as yet unknown.

Prof. Hirschfeld's careful *Reisebericht* (Berlin *Monatsber.*, 1879) has been most useful: I am the more anxious to lay stress on this, as the want of positive identifications in this district would lead those who look merely at definite positive results to undervalue his work. Clear statement of geographical facts and of ancient authorities make his work continually suggestive to the student,—far more so than if he had made a series of guesses, on insufficient evidence, at the ancient names of the sites which he visited.¹ Since Leake, guesses are no longer allowable: no other person's guesses can compete with his in authority, and modern travellers must rest on definite balancing of evidence. Each new guess at a name makes a new difficulty in the progress of our knowledge.

A. PHRYGIA.

1. **LAODIKEIA.**—I may contribute a few points toward the history of this important city, a detailed study of which is very much required.

¹I refer to his work as Hirschf., p. —: and to Mr. A. H. SMITH's article in the *Journal of Hellen. Stud.*, 1887, as A. H. S., p. —. Where a coin is mentioned without any reference, it is to be found in Mr. HEAD's *Historia Numorum*.

1. GARGILIUS ANTIQUUS, Proconsul of Asia. In April 1884, I copied the following inscription on a fragment of the cornice, buried upside down amid the ruins of a large building on the north side of the stadium.

///ΙΑΝΩΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΚΑΙΞΑΡΙΞΕΒΑΣΤΩΚΑΙΞΑΒΕΙΝΗΞΕΒ///

///ΤΙΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥΓΑΡΓΙΛΙΟΥΑΝΤΕ///ΚΟΥΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΞΑΝΤΟ///

. . . Τρα]ιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ καὶ Σαβείνῃ Σεβ[αστῇ
οἱ . . . ἐ]πὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαργιλίου Ἀντε[ί]κου καθιέρωσαν τὸ [γυμνάσιον?]

Gargilius Antiquus may have been proconsul of Asia in the year that Hadrian visited Laodikeia, Nov.-Dec. 129 A. D., or soon after: his consulship is unknown, but may have been about 115-16. Hadrian perhaps ordered the Gymnasium (?) to be built, or it may have been dedicated during his visit.

2. ΧΩΡΟΙ. The territory of Laodikeia was divided into ΧΩΡΟΙ, of which the following are known.

(1) *Eleinokaprios*: It is known from the following inscription, on a sepulchral stele at *Budjali Cahve*, on the main road from the interior to the coast, about two miles west of Kolossai: copied by Arundel, by Renan 1865, by Ramsay 1881, and by Smith 1884: published *C. I. G.*, 3954, and Lebas-Wadd., 1693 a. As there are several inaccuracies in the published texts, I give it in full: τοῦτο τὸ θέμα καὶ (ὁ) ἐπ' αὐτῷ βωμός ἐστιν Τατίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μοσχᾶ · ἐν ᾧ κεκήδευται ἡμῶν ἡ θυγάτηρην Τατάρην · οὐδενὶ δ' ἐξέσται ἄλλῳ κηδευσθῆναι εἰ μὴ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ · εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν τελευτὴν ἀπειθήσει τις τῶν προγεγραμμένων, δώσ(ε)ι τῷ Χώρῳ τῷ Ἐλεινο-καπριτῶν (δηνάρια) φ'.

The name of this district is probably derived from the fact that two rivers, Kapros and Eleinos,² flowed through it. In that case it must have been the northwestern *choros* of Laodikeia, including the district about *Urumlu*, *Serai Keui*, and *Gerehi*, and the Eleinos is probably the stream that flows past *Urumlu* and joins the *Lykos*. The stone has therefore been carried a long way from its original to its present position, a very common occurrence.

(2) *Kilarazos*: It is mentioned in an inscription at the village *Hadji Ayubli*³ (Smith-Ramsay, 1884).

² (See, below, 3. RIVERS.)

³ Pronounced Hadji Ipli. The text of l. 1 is certain: the division of the names doubtful.

ΖΩΞΑΔΙΜΟΛΟΞΩΧΩΡΟΞ	Ζωσάδι? Μολοσῶ? ὁ Χῶρος
ΟΚΙΛΑΡΑΖΕΩΝΜΝΙΑΞΧΑΡΙΝ	ὁ Κιλαραζέων μν(ε)ίας χάριν.
ΕΛΠΙΞΠΑΡΟΔΙΤΑΙΞΧΕΡΙΝ	ἐλπὶς παροδίταις χ(αί)ρ(ε)ιν.

Kilarazos is placed on the map on the hypothesis that this inscription is near its original position. This place suits the authority quoted in the next paragraph.

To these we may probably add the following places, mentioned by Niketas Khoniates, a native of this district.

(3) *Panasios* is mentioned by Niketas Khoniates (p. 254) along with *Lakerios*, as *choroi*. The description of Manuel's operations suggests the situation about Denizli given on the map. *Lakerios* is perhaps identical with Kilarazos.⁴

(4) *Karia*: The references (Niket. Khon., pp. 655 and 523) show that it lay on the main road not far from Kolossai. It is called a *komopolis*, which in this place probably means merely a village.⁵

(5) *Tantalos* is mentioned along with *Karia*, as a *komopolis* on the march from Ikonion past Kolossai, towards Antioch on the Maeander.

Harmala (Niket. Khon., p. 549) may be in this district, but is more probably lower down the Maeander. *Hyelion* and *Leimmocheir* (Niket. Khon., p. 252) are two villages on the Maeander, where the bridge on the great eastern highway spanned the river. In Roman time the bridge was near Antioch: in Byzantine time the bridge was probably in the same place, though it may possibly have been higher up. In neither case could these villages have been within the bounds of *Lao-dikeia*. *Louma* and *Pentacheir* are placed by Haase (Ersch-Gruber, *Encycl. s. v. Phrygien*, p. 274) in the Lykos valley: the only reference to them (Niket. Khon., p. 251) shows that they were further west, perhaps even beyond Tralleis; in that neighborhood, Mount Latmos is called *Besh Parmak* (*i. e.*, "Five Fingers").

3. RIVERS. Two are named on a coin, which is described by Mionnet (*Supplem.*, VII, p. 587):

"Obv. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ·ΔΟΜΝΑ·CΕΒ. Buste de Julia Domna.

Rev. ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ·ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ·ΤΟ·Π·Η· Femme debout tenant une patère de la main droite, et de la gauche le simulacre de Jupiter *Laodiceus*, debout à gauche entre un loup

⁴ Byzantine names often occur greatly changed from the old forms: *e. g.*, Kapatiana for Pakatiana, Morea for Romea (Ῥωμαία).

⁵ NIKETAS is singularly loose in his use of words: see below, under SEIBLIA.

et une chèvre : au-dessus du premier on lit dans le champ
 ΑΥΚΟC; au-dessus de l'autre ΚΑΠΡΟC."

This coin refers to the position, not of the town, but of the state of Laodikeia. The town is placed between the Asopos and the Kadmos, but the boundaries of the territory, *i. e.*, the state Laodikeia, are the Lykos and the Kapros: the latter separates it from Attoudda, the former from Hierapolis. The entire population of the territory, whether or not they resided within the walls of the town, were equally styled *Λαοδικεῖς*; and the coinage is struck in the name of the corporate body, the *Λαοδικεῖς*. The Kapros was a tributary of the Maeander (Strab., p. 578): it therefore must be the river of *Serai Keui*.

The Eleinos is the river next to the Kapros on the east (see (1)). Its name is doubtless the same as the Selinos of Ephesos and of Elis (Xenoph., *Anab.*, v. 3, 8).

The Asopos washed the walls of Laodikeia. The Kadmos was recognized both by Arundel and by Hamilton: the remarks A. H. S., pp. 224-5 seem to me correct. A glance at the map annexed will show that Pliny's description of the city is rather confused: *imposita est Lyco flumini, latera adluentibus Asopo et Capro* (*N. H.*, v. 105).

The natural boundaries of Laodikeia on the south and the southeast are determined by the lofty mountains of Kadmos (*Chonas Dagħ*) and Salbakos (*Baba Dagħ*) (Hirschfeld, p. 325). The little valley of the river Kadmos, which flows between the two ranges, probably belonged to the territory of the city.

4. GATES. The gate on the eastern side of Laodikeia was called the "Syrian Gate" (*αἱ Σύριαι Πύλαι*: Philostr., *Vit. Soph.*, i. 25). City gates were commonly named after some important town on the road which issued through the gate: so at Smyrna we have the "Ephesian Gate;" at Ephesos the "Magesian Gate." The commerce of the East passed through the gates of Laodikeia: for example, the red earth of Kappadokia, which had in early times reached the Greeks by way of Sinope, was afterwards brought along the great eastern highway through Laodikeia to Ephesos (Strab., p. 540). The North and West gates were perhaps called "Hierapolitan" and "Ephesian."

5. TRIMITARIA was a title applied to Laodikeia: it is derived from *τρίμιτος*, a kind of cloth evidently manufactured in quantity there. The district is one which has preserved manufacturing power through the Turkish occupation. The title has been misunderstood by Wesseling.

II. HIERAPOLIS.—The inscription Lebas-Wadd., 1687, is of the highest interest as referring to *une véritable société mutuelle établie entre les ouvriers teinturiers en pourpre*: this suggests to M. Waddington the influence of Christianity. Unfortunately, a false reading⁶ is the only authority for this interest: knowing M. Waddington's text, I yet read the stone clearly and unhesitatingly τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβαφῶν, "the council of presidents (πρόεδροι) of the purple dyers."

The text *C. and B.*, p. 375,⁷ ought to be read Μονο[γέ]ν[η]ς εὐχαριστῶ τῇ θεῷ. The formula occurs also in the Katakekaumene (Ἀπολόνιος Δράλας δυνατῇ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῷ⁸), at Ephesos (εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κυρία Ἄρτεμι, Wood's *Ephesus*, *App.*, Augusteum 2-4, 8), and at Dionysopolis (εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητῷ, *C. and B.*, p. 385). The formula is peculiarly connected with the worship of Meter Leto. This goddess is traced by inscriptions: (1) at Perga of Pamphylia, where she is identical with the Ἀνασσα Περγαία, usually known by the Greek title Artemis. This follows from the inscription of Attaleia *ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητοῦς τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως*.⁹ (2) In Lykia generally, where she is one of the θεοὶ πατρῷοι, and the guardian of the tomb: cp. Bennd.-Niem., No. 96, p. 118 ff.; Treuber, *Gesch. d. Lykier*, p. 69 ff. (3) In the district of Hierapolis, Tripolis, Attoudda, and along the whole line of Mt. Messogis to the sea. A coin of Tripolis, with the legend ΑΗΤΩ ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, shows the goddess sitting with sceptre in hand. The type of Leto, carrying the infants Apollon and Artemis, occurs on coins of Tripolis, Attoudda, Mastaura and Magnesia. A coin of Hierapolis has the legend ΑΗΤΩΕΙΑ.ΠΥΘΙΑ. Lethaios at Magnesia, a river flowing out of Mt. Messogis, perhaps means the river of Leto, being Grecised in accordance with the false idea that Λητώ is

⁶ Viz., προσδέας. In the same inscription l. 1, for [βωμῶ] read βαθρικῶ; for κορήσκου read κοριάσκου; for Ἀσβέ[στ]ηρ read Ἀσβόλου ν(εωτερου?); for [ἐπε]τέ[λ]ε[σε] read κατέλειψα. ΠΑΠΩΝ seemed certain to me also. Read also ὅσον ἂν πορίσῃς βιον, ὃ φίλε παροδείτα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν τοῦ βίου ταῦτα.

⁷ I refer to my paper *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, 1883, as *C. and B.*

⁸ Smyrna *Museion* no. τκζ, where it is wrongly printed εὐχαρίστω as an adjective.

⁹ This must mean "the great goddess of Perga." In publishing this inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1883, p. 263) I did not observe that Leto of Perga is here identical with Artemis of Perga. The inscription is misunderstood by TREUBER, *Lykier*, p. 76. A Messapian inscription has the expression *Artemis-Leto*: see DEECKE, *Rh. Mus.*, 1887, p. 232, who wrongly separates the names by a comma. In both cases, the names Artemis and Leto are applied to the same deity.

connected with *λανθάνω*.¹⁰ (4) In the Katakekaumene, where she is more commonly known as Artemis Anaitis, with a Greek title Artemis and a Persian title introduced by the settlers planted in eastern Lydia by the Persian kings. (5) In Ephesos, where also she is usually known as Artemis. An Ephesian coin bears the legend ΑΗΤΩ. (6) Leto *πρὸ πόλεως* at Oinoanda, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1886, p. 234.

These traces of the worship of Leto the Mother point to its entrance from the south into Asia Minor: if Lykia were its point of entrance, it must have come from Rhodos, but, if Pamphylia be its first seat in Asia Minor, it must have come through Kypros. The pair of deities, mother and son, Leto and Lairbenos Apollon,¹¹ become in time the triad, Leto, Artemis and Apollon, mother and daughter in the divine nature being distinguished. The Kybele and Attys of northern Asia Minor are probably in origin the same pair as the Leto and Lermenos of the south, borne along a different road and perhaps also at an earlier time: in Ephesos and in the Katekekaumene, the two have met. My friend Prof. Robertson Smith's suggestion that the name *Λατώ* is the old-Semitic *Al-lat*, 'Αλιλάτ of Herodotos¹² (I. 131; III. 8) agrees perfectly with the geographical distribution, and derives additional probability from the agreement.

Hierapolis is a name obviously of the Greek period: the pre-Hellenic name appears to have been Kallatēbos (Herod., VII. 30). Some time between 530 and 553¹³ Hierapolis was raised to the dignity of a *metropolis*. A district of Phrygia was separated from the rest of the province and placed under Hierapolis. This arrangement had certainly not taken place in the time of Hierokles (about 530), but is clearly implied at the council of 680.¹⁴ The remodelling of the two Phrygias, which took place under Justinian, was probably the occasion when the new department (which for the sake of a name I call Phrygia Hierapolitana) was formed. Considering how close was the connection of ecclesiastical and political organisation, it is probable that a civil governor, as well as a metropolitan bishop, resided henceforward at Hierapolis until the Provinces were replaced by Themes.

¹⁰ Also known at Ephesos and Stectorion.

¹¹ On the epithet *Lairbenos* or *Lermenos*, see *C. and B.*, v.

¹² *Al*, the definite article: for another explanation (*Alilat* feminine of *helel*, "the shining one") see SAYCE ON HERODOTOS, I. 131

¹³ Hierapolis is a *metropolis* in (*Concil. Constantinop.* III) A. D. 553.

¹⁴ Where Sisinnios signs *ὕπερ ἑμμαντοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ' ἐμὲ συνόδου*. This was probably the case in 553 also (though not expressly stated), since Hierapolis ranks there as *metropolis*.

In *Notitiae VII, VIII, IX*, and *I*, the bishoprics subject to Hierapolis were Motella, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, Attoudda, and Mossyna. In the late *Notitiae*, a northern district (comprising Kadoi, Aizanoi, Tiberiopolis, Ankyra, and Synaos) was added: this arrangement, which is later than the institution of Themes, has obviously a mere ecclesiastical, and never a political, significance.

III. **MOSSYNA**.—I placed this bishopric (*C. and B.*, p. 377) between Dionysopolis and Laodikeia. The name was known only from the Byzantine lists, and I restored it conjecturally, in an inscription, *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Μο[σσυνέων]*.¹⁵ I can now confirm this by the following inscription, which is the first half of one copied by me in 1883 and published (*C. and B.*, No. 8):¹⁶

Διὲ Μοσσυνεὶ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ · Γ(αῖος) Νώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου
 υἱὸς Ἀνιηυσία Διόφαντος, ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς, τὸ
 ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν σὺν τῇ ὑποσκευῇ πάσῃ ἀνέσ-
 τησε δοὺς ἐκ τῶν ιδίων (δηνάρια) . . τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οἱ ἐπαν-
 γειλάμενοι καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται · Ἀπολλώνιος β' τοῦ Φιλοξένου
 ΑΝΑΙΞ (δηνάρια) ἰ' · Ἀπολλόδοτος Διοδώρου ἀγορανόμος
 (δηνάρια) κέ' · Ἀπολλόδοτος κ. τ. λ.¹⁷

ΑΝΑΙΞ is quite distinct. The date of this inscription about A. D. 100, as given when the other part was published, is confirmed by the whole style of the first half and by the name *Γάλβας*. But, whereas formerly I assigned the inscription to Dionysopolis, it must now be transferred to Mossyna. *Sazak* is a village on the border of the two districts, and the other inscriptions found there (and already published) are certainly Dionysopolitan. The country, which I formerly divided between Mossyna and Metellopolis, belongs entirely to Mossyna. Metellopolis is identical with Motella, in the same neighborhood (see **A. XI**).

¹⁵ Formerly I restored *Μο[σσύνων]*: the correct form is given by the text which follows. The coins published by Mionnet as reading *ΜΟΞΞ|ΝΩΝ* are all misread: they belong to the Mostenoi.

¹⁶ Half of the inscription was concealed beneath the floor of the mosque at *Sazak*. In 1883 I could not induce the inhabitants to let me tamper with the planks: in 1887 I got their consent.

¹⁷ The inscription is in a very dark corner of the mosque: in 1883 we read it by light reflected from a pocket-mirror: in 1887 I procured a small lamp, and read two words more correctly than in 1883: in 5, *Γάλβας* for *Γαλέας*, and in 4, *Ἀλλεῖδιων* for *Ἀλεξιδίων* (noted in the publication as uncertain). I find in my old notebook that I had made the second correction in revising the inscription on the stone, and in publishing took the first false reading.

IV. **ATTOUDDA.**—The evidence that Attoudda (*C. and B.*, xvi) stood at the village of *Assar* is very strong: *C. I. G.*, No. 3950, an inscription erected by the people of Attoudda, is said to have been found at Assar,¹⁸ and an inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1887, p. 348) in honor of a person named Karminios, who certainly belonged to a family closely connected with Attoudda, was copied at Assar by M. Clerc. It is quite certain that Attoudda stood in this neighborhood, and I formerly (*C. and B.*, xvi) accepted the view that the actual site was at Assar. I am now obliged to slightly modify this view, and place Attoudda beside Haz Keui, 1½ miles west of Serai Keui, and 6 miles N. E. from Assar. No problem in the topography of Phrygia has cost me so much time and trouble as the placing of Attoudda and Trapezopolis, and yet Attoudda was one of the few places whose site was considered certain before I first travelled in Phrygia. The modification I adopt is so slight that it may appear a waste of time to discuss it, and I should not mention it here, if it were not necessary for the placing of Trapezopolis.

As to the actual value of the abovementioned evidence: inscr. 1 is attributed by Sherard, who alone saw it, to Aphrodisias. His notes were evidently hasty and inaccurate, as is obvious from the remarks of Franz¹⁹ (*C. I. G.*, No. 3950, and *Add.*, No. 3946): inscr. 2 mentions a member of a family which was closely connected with both Attoudda and Aphrodisias (*C. I. G.*, 2782–3), and which therefore may have been connected also with the intermediate city, Trapezopolis. Again, inscriptions might easily be carried from a site near Haz Keui to Assar: though the road is uphill, the distance is not great; and it is also quite possible that an inscription of Attoudda might have been sent in ancient times to Trapezopolis.²⁰ Finally, it must be remembered that Assar itself is not an ancient site, though it is certainly near an ancient site, which I shall prove to be Trapezopolis.

The district of Phrygia which we have to examine consists of a low

¹⁸ It is wrongly called *Ipsili Hissar*: the name must have been reported by a Greek servant. Assar is the only name known in the district (A. H. S., p. 223: *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, l. c.).

¹⁹ So, *C. I. G.* 388, an inscription of Eukarpia is attributed, through a fault in Laborde's notes, to Eumeneia, 25 miles distant (*C. and B.*, p. 402). Experience teaches me how easily such an error may creep into a road-book. Sherard may have found the inscription at Gereli (see below).

²⁰ In this way a Prymnessian decree at Nakoleia long produced the false belief that Prymnessos was situated where really Nakoleia stood.

level plain along the Maeander, and of a large tract of hilly country, consisting of alluvium intersected by deep ravines, which extends between the actual valley of the Maeander and the lofty rocky Mt. Salbakos (*Baba Dagħ*, "Father Mount"). In this district two ancient cities existed: one, corresponding to the modern town *Kadi Keui*, was situated somewhere near Assar or Kadi Keui; the other, corresponding to the modern town *Serai Keui*²¹ was situated beside Haz Keui. The latter was Attoudda: Men Karou, whose temple beside the Maeander is described by Strabo (p. 481), is celebrated on coins as the chief deity of Attoudda. At the temple, which stood near the Maeander, between Karoura and Laodikeia, *i. e.*, somewhere a few miles west of Serai Keui, a great medical school, following the system of Herostratos, existed in the first century B. C., founded by Zeuxis and Alexander Philaethes. This fact shows that the Anatolian deity Men had some of the character of the Greek Asklepios. No traces of the temple are now known, but this district, lying under the hills, very subject to earthquakes, and full of hot springs of the most varied character, is peculiarly liable to be silted up. The remains of Attoudda also have, in modern times, almost disappeared, which is partly accounted for by the close neighborhood of the rapidly growing town, Serai Keui. The centre of modern life has changed to Serai Keui, but the change is quite recent. The weekly Bazar of the district was held in an open space on the south side of Haz Keui, until thirty years ago, when it was transferred to Serai Keui. Such markets, held not at the modern centres of life, are always good evidence of ancient custom: in some cases they mark the site of an ancient city, now deserted; in others, they continue the ancient meeting-place of a people living in villages without a city-centre. Strabo (p. 341) gives an example of the former: Aleision, a city mentioned by Homer, had ceased to exist, but a market called Ἀλεϊσιῶν was held near the site. *Kara Eyük Bazar* is the ancient site, but *Adji Badem* is the government town, in the territory of Themissonion (A. VIII): at Keretapa (A. VII) *Kayadibi* is the Bazar and the ancient site, and *Satirlar* the government town: in the Hyrgalean Plain, *Kai Bazar* is the seat of a weekly market for the district, but is otherwise absolutely deserted: the same is the case at Eriza (B. 6) with *Ishkian Bazar*, and among the Perminodeis (D. 9) with *Kizil Kaya Bazar*.

²¹ It is a most useful principle for ancient topography that a modern town almost always exists in the neighborhood of a Græco-Roman town; but the site is usually changed. I hope soon to publish a study of this subject in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society. Kadi Keui is the seat of a Mudir, Serai Keui of a Kaimakam.

I group together the inscriptions of this district, one or two (especially *C. I. G.*, 3951–2) may belong to Trapezopolis, but the most of them are certainly Attouddan: (1) *C. I. G.*, 3948; (2) 3949; (3) 3950; (4) 3951; (5) 3952 and *add.*, Lebas-Wadd. 743, and *A. H. S.*, No. 1; (6) *C. I. G.*, 3953; (7) *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1887, p. 348, No. 4; (8) *ibid.*, No. 5; (9) *C. I. G.*, 3947 may belong to this district, but Dr. Sherard mentions it and 3946 as found in *Dere Keui*, and the latter is really an inscription

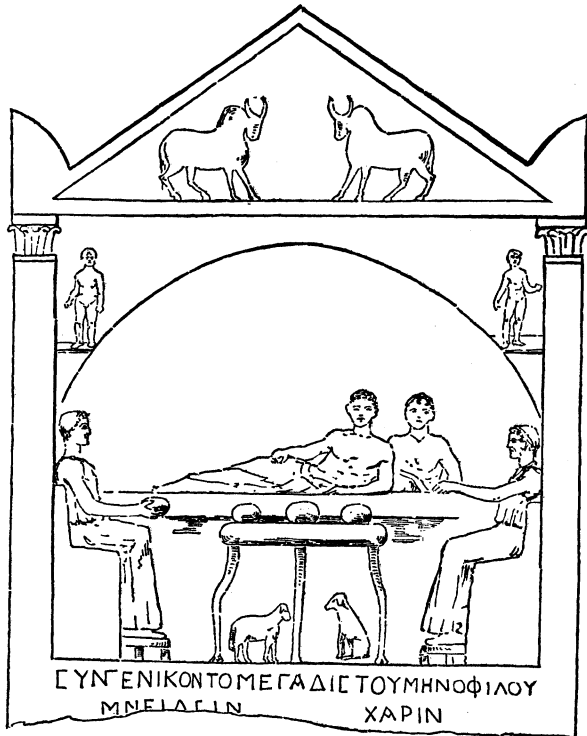


FIG. 19.—Tombstone from Attoudda, Phrygia; found near Serai Keui.

of Sardis; the text which is not understood by Franz ought to be read [τοῦτο τὸ ἀνέθηκεν] Ἐπαφροδεῖτος Ἑρμᾶ? καὶ τὸ ναΐδιον. (10) In 1883, I saw, at *Serai Keui*, two tombstones, found in the neighborhood. They belong to Attoudda, and show an interesting variety of the "Sepulchral Feast." I give a sketch of one of them (*fig. 19*). The inscription beneath is *συγγενικὸν τὸ Μέγα δις τοῦ Μηνοφίλου μνείας χάριν*: "The family tomb of Megas, son and grandson of Menophilos,

in memoriam." The second stone had lost its inscription: it was very like the other, but the sheep and dog, instead of being under the table, occupied the angles where the other stone has two children, and three persons reclined at table. (11) Fragment found at Assar (Smith-Ramsay, 1884): broken on three sides, complete on right, except where dots indicate lost letters. It seems to be connected with some local games:

ἀν ΔΡΑΞΙ · ·
 ΟΥΤΟΥΛ ·
 ΞΩΤΑΤΟ ·
 ἐπὶ ἀγωνο ΘΕΤΟΥΔΙ
 ονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου
 ἀ ΛΙΠΤΗΝ
 λονγΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΝ
 πολυ? ΧΡΟΝΙΟΥ

(12) at Assar: copied by me in 1883:

//////////	[ὁ·δεῖνα ·····νο]
ΞΘΕΥΥΕC	ς θεῶ ὑψέσ-
ΤΥΕΥΧΗΝ	τῶ εὐχρήν.

KAROURA was a village 20 miles from Laodikeia on the road to Antioch (and thence to Ephesos). Reading Strabo (p. 579) in the country, one feels no doubt that he places Karoura on the south side of the river. The railway-survey measures 12 English statute miles from Serai Keui to Laodikeia, but the line of the Roman road was straighter, and we may safely estimate 12 Roman miles from Laodikeia to Serai Keui, and place Karoura 8 Roman miles west of Serai Keui on the south bank of the Maeander. Beside Antioch, the Roman road crossed the Maeander by a bridge,²² and went by way of Nyssa, Tralleis, and Magnesia to Ephesos.

Karoura is unknown in Byzantine times: it was a mere village of the territory of Attoudda. The name is obviously derived from the Attouddan Men Karou: the Greek idea that it meant *Καρίας ὄρια* is merely popular pseudo-etymology.

V. TRAPEZOPOLIS is localised at the site near Assar and Kadi Keui by a series of arguments, which are difficult to state clearly and briefly: Trapezopolis was in the *conventus* of Alabanda, and is reckoned by Ptolemy to Karia:²³ it must therefore have lain west of the Roman

²² On a coin the bridge has six arches.

²³ Ptolemy's authority would be small, if not supported by PLINY, v. 109.

road from Laodikeia to Kibyra, or it would have been included in the conventus of Kibyra-Laodikeia. Trapezopolis was reckoned to Phrygia Pacatiana throughout the Byzantine period: it cannot therefore have lain in the great plain of Taba, for the towns of that plain, Taba, Herakleia, Apollonia, all belong to Karia. Careful examination of the hills between the plain of Taba and the Laodikeia-Kibyra road, by Sterrett in 1884 and Ramsay in 1886, shows that no city ever existed there except Sebastopolis, which was Karian.

The previous arguments prove that Trapezopolis was on the Phrygo-Karian frontier, west of the Laodikeia-Kibyra road, and that there is no place south of Mt. Salbakos where it could possibly have stood: therefore it must have been north of the mountain, *i. e.*, it must lie in the district between Attoudda and the modern Denizli on the east and Antioch and Aphrodisias on the west. The little that we know about Trapezopolis suggests that it was situated in this neighborhood. The order of Hierokles points distinctly here: he first enumerates the cities of the Lykos valley, Laodikeia, Hierapolis, Mossyna, Attoudda, Trapezopolis, Kolossai. We have alliance-coins of Attoudda and Trapezopolis. The Byzantine evidence tends to connect Trapezopolis with Laodikeia, and on the other hand to connect the cities south of Mt. Salbakos with Kolossai. The situation now given to Trapezopolis explains why it was included neither among the bishoprics subject to Hierapolis nor among those subject to Khonai (see **A. II, VI**).²⁴ Trapezopolis was formerly placed at Makuf in the plain of Taba. M. Waddington proved long ago that Makuf was the site of Herakleia *ad Salbacum*, and transferred Trapezopolis to Kizil Hissar, but this village is on the Laodikeia-Kibyra road, and is not an ancient site.

B. THE PHRYGO-KARIAN FRONTIER.

The Phrygo-Karian frontier lay between Aphrodisias on the one side and Trapezopolis on the other, and one who sees the country is at once led to place it along the long ridge now called Tchibuk Dag:²⁵ the mountain and the frontier pass into the lofty ridge of Salbakos. The rest of the frontier north of Salbakos results from a study of the border cities of Karia. Many of these are very obscure: two, Kidramos and Hyllarima, are not mentioned in Forbiger's *Alte Geographie*.

²⁴ For a further confirmation, see **B. I. KIDRAMOS**.

²⁵ *Tchibuk*, a pipe with a long stem.

B. 1. KIDRAMOS is assigned to Phrygia by numismatists except Head (*Hist. Num.*). The only ancient authorities, the *Notitiae*, assign it to Karia. But the style of the coins is rather Phrygian,²⁶ and this would lead us to place the town on the Phrygo-Karian frontier. It also places ΖΕΥC ΑΥΔΙΟC on its coins, which proves that it must have been on the Karo-Lyidian frontier, *i. e.*, in the Maeander valley²⁷ and near the river. I should expect to discover the site of Kidramos between Antioch and Attoudda, a little west of Karoura, about due south of the modern village Ortakche, on a spur of the hills that fringe the valley.

After this discussion of the sites of Trapezopolis, Attoudda, and Kidramos was written out, I observed a confirmation so striking as to constitute a very strong argument in its favor. Imhoof-Blumer (*Numism. Zft.*, 1884, p. 272) points out that the coins of Laodikeia, Attoudda, Trapezopolis, and Kidramos, agree in giving magistrates' names in the genitive with *διά*, a peculiarity unknown in any other city: precisely these four cities lie side by side on my map.

B. 2. HYLLARIMA is to be looked for in the east of Karia: under the Empire it struck coins whose style suggests the Phrygian rather than the Ionian side of Karia, and it is mentioned in the Byzantine lists: Hierokles has *Harpasa—Neapolis—Hylarema—Antiokheia—Aphrodisias*, which suggests that Hyllarima is to be looked for south of the Maeander and west of the Morsynos.

B. 3. GORDIOU TEICHOS is fixed near Kara Su by the route of Manlius (see **E**). It occurs in no Byzantine lists.

B. 4. APHRODISIAS.—The site has long been known, and the ruins are a popular resort for tourists.

C. THE PHRYGO-LYDIAN FRONTIER.

C. 1. TRIPOLIS.—The river Maeander above the junction of the Lykos was, throughout ancient history, the boundary between Phrygia and Lydia. Close on the opposite bank, geographically a part of this district of Phrygia which I call "the Lykos valley," yet historically always a city of Lydia, lies Tripolis. It was in the *conventus* of Sardis, which proves that Ptolemy, when he places it in Karia (so also Steph. Byz., in

²⁶ Except one: *les types et l'aspect de cette monnaie rappellent tant ceux de certains bronzes de Termessos*: IMHOOF, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 397.

²⁷ IMHOOF, *l. c.*, who draws the proper inference as to the situation of the city. Zeus *Αυδίας* is also known at Sardis but not elsewhere.

his confused and inaccurate remarks), makes a pure mistake. According to Pliny²⁸ it bore the name Antoniopropolis. An inscription of the Roman period calls it *Μαιονίη Τρίπολις*. The Byzantine lists always reckon Tripolis to Lydia, and Herodotos VII. 30 is conclusive evidence that it was Lydian in the fifth century B. C.

C. 2. BRIOULA was in the Maeander valley, on the north side of the river, in the district round Nyssa but west of Mastaura,²⁹ in the *conventus* of Ephesos (Pliny, v. 111). These indications point to the ancient site beside the village of Billara, in which name we recognize the ancient word. Billara lies near the railway station at Kuyujak: Mr. Hogarth, who visited it at my suggestion in 1887, reports that the ancient city is distinct, but inscriptions are wanting. On its coins appear *HAIOC* and *MHTHP ΘΕΩΝ*, in whom we may recognize Lairbenos and Leto (see **A. II. HIERAPOLIS**).

C. 3. HYDRELA.—If there were any authority for placing Hydrela in Lydia, the Maeander would then be the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia from the Lykos to the Ionian coast, but the scanty references place Hydrela in Karia. Considering that several authorities place Tripolis and Laodikeia in Karia, it is probable that Hydrela, also, in spite of Livy and Stephanos, should be assigned to Lydia. After the preceding exposition, the statement of Pliny (*N. H.*, v. 105), that it was in the *conventus* of Kibyra-Laodikeia is clear evidence that it lay near Ortakche, and Livy's words³⁰ agree exactly with this position. The statement of Strabo (p. 650) that the inhabitants of Hydrela, Athymbra, and Athymbrada were transplanted to the new city Nyssa in Seleucid times (which can hardly be quite true), while pointing to some situation in the Maeander valley, gives no precise indication of locality.

The limits of the Kibyratian *conventus* are now fixed. The *conventus* of Alabanda was bounded on the north by the Maeander, and the two *conventus* of Kibyra and Ephesos touched each other on the north bank between Brioula and Hydrela. Hydrela is never mentioned in Byzantine lists, though it coined money from Hadrian to Geta, and was therefore an independent city under the Empire. It lies on the fron-

²⁸ *Tripolitani iidem et Antoniopolitae Maeandro adhaerunt*: v. 111.

²⁹ *I. e.*, if we can trust that STRABO's order (p. 650) *Βρίουλα, Μάσταυρα, Ἀχάρακα*, is strict.

³⁰ *Cariam quae Hydrela appellatur agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem*: LIV., 37, 56. *Ἰδρηλα πόλις Καρίας*: STEPH. BYZ.

tier of Byzantine Asia, Phrygia, and Karia, and might perhaps be expected in the lists of Asia.³¹

A. PHRYGIA.

VI. KOLOSSAI.—The name occurs also, in the singular, as that of a city in the Kaystros valley, the modern Keles. This Kolose is also frequently mentioned in Byzantine lists as Koloe, which proves that the lake Koloe near Sardis, and the village Koloe in the Katakekau-mene bear the same name as the Phrygian city: Kolossai, Kolose, Koloe, Keles, are various forms of the same Anatolian name.

Kolossai was a station on the great eastern highway, 8 miles from Laodikeia. The ruins of the city lie on the banks of the Lykos about 3 miles north of the village of Khonas. The ruins of a large church, probably the famous church of S. Michael,³² could be traced emerging above the soil at least as late as 1881. The natural phenomenon at Kolossai described by Herodotos (VII. 30) has often been discussed by travellers. The explanation given by Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, I, 511), though generally approved, appears to me wholly unacceptable: violent change in the landscape is in all cases a doubtful hypothesis; but only the supposed necessity of explaining Herodotos could lead any one who had seen the Lykos to suppose that a river which deposits calcareous matter once covered itself over entirely for five stadia and is now quite open. The words of Herodotos³³ describe the common natural phenomenon now called in the country a *duden*, where the water of a high-lying plain finds a subterranean exit and emerges in a large fountain in a lower country. The Lykos rises in such a *duden*, and it seems to me not open to doubt that this is the phenomenon to which Herodotos alludes. His words indeed suggest that the water disappears in the city: but, in the first place, the term Kolossai means strictly the entire state and not merely the space of the city; and, in the second place, I can only apply to Herodotos's account

³¹ It is clear that the known conditions would be almost equally well fulfilled if Hydrela and Kidramos were transposed: careful exploration of the situation, which I have seen only from the railway, might decide. If we could find Hydrela in Byzantine Asia, or if Kidramos were known to be in the *conventus* of Alabanda, we should have a definite proof of the correctness of the positions above assigned.

³² αὐτὸν τὸν περιβόητον ἐν θαύμασι καὶ ἀναθήμασι τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου ναόν: SCYLITZ., p. 686.

³³ Κολοσσὰς . . . ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ἐς μάλιστα καὶ πέντε ἀναφαίνόμενος, ἐκδιδοί: VII. 30.

of Kolossai the remark made by Hirschfeld about his account of Apameia: *er spricht offenbar nicht als Augenzeuge*.³⁴

KHONAI.—At the Council held in Constantinople in 692 A. D. the bishop of Kolossai is mentioned. In all later notices the phrase is *ἐπίσκοπος Χωνῶν ἤτοι Κολοσσῶν*,³⁵ or simply *ὁ Χωνῶν*. The earliest instance of the name Khonai known to me is *Concil. Nicaen.* II, A. D. 787. In the lists of cities whose names have been changed (Parthey, *Hierokles*, etc., *app.*), Khonai is given as the later name of Kolossai; and this view is commonly accepted. The actual fact, however, is that Khonai was a new city, in a different situation, which dwarfed the old city of Kolossai. Kolossai stood in the open plain, in a most exposed situation, and could not be made a strong city. Its defenceless condition was no disadvantage in the Roman and early Byzantine time, while it was conveniently situated so that the high-road along the Lykos valley passed through its gates. But when the troubled times began, and when the whole of Asia Minor was exposed to the ravages of Arab armies, the situation was a serious disadvantage: a new city with a strong citadel on an outlying peak of Mt. Kadmos grew up, and attracted the population of Kolossai. It is possible that the change was hastened by an actual sack of the old city, but as to this we have no information.³⁶ The change from Kolossai to Khonai occurred between 692 and 787, in the period when the Byzantine empire was weakest and the Arab incursions most wide-spread and dangerous. Khonai, the most powerful fortress in the Lykos valley, was probably (though no actual authority exists among the miserably scanty records of the social history of Anatolia) a *thema* or station for troops. In 857 it was raised to the rank of an archbishopric. Photios, who had just been irregularly appointed to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, desired to strengthen his cause by the support of the Roman Pontiff: he sent the bishops of Amorion and Khonai as envoys to Rome, honoring the latter with the title of archbishop (see *Vit. S. Ignatii*, in *Mansi Act. Concil.*, xvi, p. 235). In the earlier and intermediate *Notitiae*, Khonai is never mentioned, and along with it are omitted four bishoprics of

³⁴ *Kelainai-Apameia*, pp. 11, 19, in *Berlin. Abhandl.*, 1885.

³⁵ In all cases which I have observed, this phrase (*e. g.*, *Ἀπόλλωνος Ἱεροῦ ἤτοι Ἀετοῦ, Στρατονικείας ἤτοι Καλάνδου*) has the same meaning: the two names denote not the same but different cities; the centre of population has changed, or is changing, to a new site.

³⁶ In *Mittheilungen (Athen.)* 1882, I explained the relation between Khonai and Kolossai, and compared it with the history of Prymnessos and Akronios.

southern Phrygia, Keretapa, Themissonion, Sanaos, and Valentia: the five form a well-marked group, and a line drawn around them cuts off the whole southern district of Pacatiana. The inference is, that, in the year 857 or very soon after, this district was separated from the metropolis of Laodikeia and subjected to the metropolis of Khonai. The fact that Khonai is entirely omitted from the *Notitiae* of this period (*I, VIII, IX*) proves that the lists there given are not absolutely complete, and we shall find another omission in the case of AKMONIA.³⁷ In the latest *Notitiae* (*III, X, XIII*), Khonai is mentioned as a metropolis, without any dependent bishoprics, and Keretapa, Themissonion, and Sanaos reappear among those dependent on Laodikeia. Such variations are not uncommon: *e. g.*, Eukhaita has four dependent bishoprics in *Not. X*, but in *Not. III*: τῷ Εὐχαιτῶν θρόνος ὑποκείμενος οὐκ ἔστι.

VII. KERETAPA (*C. and B.*, xv).—I previously followed Professor Kiepert's opinion, that Keretapa was situated on the Adji Tuz Göl, on the road from Laodikeia and Kolossai to Apameia, with the necessary correction of transferring the site from Tchardak at the western end of the lake, where no Græco-Roman ruins exist, to Sari Kavak, on the lake not far from its northeastern end. I have, however, found it necessary to desert the old view: Sanaos was situated at Sari Kavak.

Keretapa was in all probability situated at Kayadibi, and the ΑΥΑΙΝΔΗΝΟΞ of coins is the lake that lies between Kayadibi and Salda. The evidence may be put briefly thus. The order in Hierokles puts Keretapa and Themissonion together in southern Phrygia: Ptolemy agrees: the site at Kayadibi was in Phrygia, and it is not possible to put any other city there except Keretapa. Some slight arguments also tell directly in favor of placing Keretapa at Kayadibi. (1) Its territory then adjoins Kolossai and Themissonion, and Hierokles mentions the three cities together. (2) The name Diokaisareia, which was applied to it, is explained by the inscription on an altar at Kayadibi (*A. H. S.*, No. 54) Δεὶ Καίσαρι: there was at this place a cultus of Cæsar as Zeus, and the city might readily acquire the name Diokaisareia. (3) In the brief account of S. Artemon³⁸ it is told that Patricius, *Comes* and governor of Phrygia-Pacatiana, proceeding from

³⁷ See my *Cities and Bishoprics*, No. xxii, in *J. H. S.*, 1887.

³⁸ *Acta Sanctorum*, October 8th, p. 46. The title *Comes* applied to the governor, shows that the life of the saint was composed later than 536 A. D. The scene is laid under Diocletian. A mere abstract is given by the Bollandists: if any fuller ms. of the biography of Artemon exists, it would probably contain much local detail.

Laodikeia εἰς τὴν Καισαρέων [read [Διο]καισαρέων, there is no city Kaisareia in the province] πόλιν, arrested Artemon on the road three miles from Laodikeia. At Kaisareia [Diokaisareia] Artemon produced by his prayers a lake, whereupon Vitalius the priest and many others were converted.³⁹ (4) There is some reason to think that Khonai and Keretapa were conterminous. An appearance of S. Michael of Khonai at Keretapa on Sept. 6th is celebrated by the Greek Church: Le Quien (*Or. Christ.*, I, 813) uses the expression (which he either infers from this appearance or derives from some *menologion* unknown to me): *Chonae, quae juxta Ceretapa*. Kayadibi and Khonai are divided only by mountains, no other city intervenes, and there is no other site unappropriated whose territory could be conterminous with Khonai. (5) A coincidence connected with the name is of some interest, if it be not unreal. Keretapa seems to belong to the large class of Anatolian names containing the element KEP, to which class perhaps the national name "Karia" belongs. The second part, *tapa*, seems to be the same word as the Karian *taba*, "rock."⁴⁰ *Kayadibi*, in Turkish, means "under the rock;" and the most remarkable feature in the situation is a lofty peak on the north, which rises so abruptly that it seems actually to overhang and overshadow the town. (6) This position of Keretapa explains its omission in some *Notitiae* (see KOLOSSAI).⁴¹

The bishops of Keretapa are often mentioned in the Councils of the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. In 359 A. D., Theodoulos, bishop of Keretapa, seems to be a dignitary of some consequence, and not of an obscure town. The coinage is rich, from Augustus onwards. A fertile country of great extent belongs to the city, and it lay on the Roman road from Themissonion to Takina and Apameia.

With regard to the reported pre-Hellenic rock-sculptures of Karat-li, close to Kayadibi:⁴² I went to examine them in 1886, and found only three figures nine inches high, in a niche—rude village-work of the Roman period.

³⁹ διὰ προσευχῆς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ ἐξήγαγεν ὕδωρ πολὺ: the ἐξ shows that ὕδωρ cannot mean rain, but either a fountain or lake. Artemon was presbyter in Laodikeia, and Sisinnius bishop.

⁴⁰ STEPH. BYZ., s. v., *Taba*.

⁴¹ On the top of the hill overhanging Kayadibi are extensive ruins of one of the most curious, probably pre-Hellenic, fortifications that I have seen in Asia Minor. H. A. Brown and I visited them late one evening in 1886: we found nothing except great lines of walls formed of loose small stones, surrounding a considerable extent of country.

⁴² DAVIS, *Anatolica*, p. 135; PERROT, *Hist. de l'Art*, IV, p. 742.

VIII. THEMISSESION.—M. Waddington proved conclusively, many years ago,⁴³ that Themissonion was in the valley now called Kara Eyuk Ova. Defective knowledge of the district led him to place it at Kadja Hissar,⁴⁴ and to make some incorrect statements about the topography: but his proof is a masterpiece of topographical analysis, and leaves me nothing to do except to apply it to the proper site, Kara Eyuk Bazar.⁴⁵

Pausanias (x. 32) mentions Themissonion τὸ ὑπὲρ Λαοδικείας as a city of Phrygia, and says that a large cave 30 stadia from the city sheltered all the inhabitants from the invading Gauls. In front of this cave stood statues of Herakles, Apollon, and Hermes, which embody different aspects of the character of the native deity. Coins show that the chief deity of Themissonion was ΑΥΚαβας⁴⁶ ΞΩΖΩΝ. The Saving-god—*Theos Sozon*—was worshipped in Antioch Maeandr. (a coin reads ΩΖΩΝ) and in various parts of Kabalis. A number of monuments of this cultus have been described by M. Collignon (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, iv, p. 291; pl. ix) and Mr. Smith (A. H. S., p. 236). I copied a rude and very faint inscription below one of the reliefs mentioned by M. Collignon:⁴⁷

NICEPMOΓΕ
NOYHPAKAIEY
XHN

Mῆ]νις Ἑρμογέ-
νου Ἑρακλ(ε)ῖ εὐ-
χῆν.⁴⁸

An inscription on the rocks at Tefenni⁴⁹ (incorrectly published, A. H. S., p. 236), also beneath a relief, ought to be read Μενέλαος Μήνιδος

⁴³ *Bull. Archéol. de l'Athenaeum Français*, 1855: reprinted in *Mél. Numism.*, i, p. 107.

⁴⁴ Kai Hissar or Kaya Hissar (Kaja Hissar, where j represents y, is mistaken and given according to the French spelling as Kadja) is the proper name. It is not an ancient site.

⁴⁵ "The Bazaar of the Black Mound," a large tumulus beside the village: the valley takes its name from the village on the ancient site. Adji Badem, "Bitter Almond Tree," is the seat of the governor, a Kaimakam.

⁴⁶ Mr. HEAD has ΑΥΚΙΟΣ ΞΩΖΩΝ.

⁴⁷ These reliefs are in a rock at the village Yuvalik, which is strangely misspelt by MM. Duchesne and Collignon, "Djouk Ovarlak": *Yua* is a kind of tree, *lik* is the collective termination.

⁴⁸ M. Collignon gives one line of an inscription, below one of these rock-reliefs, which either is an incorrect copy of my line 2, or is a second instance of the name Herakles applied to this god.

⁴⁹ Tefenni is quite near Yuvalik.

Ὁροφύλα[κι] εὐχὴν · ἔτους σορ'⁵⁰: the deity to whom the vow is paid is almost invariably specified in inscriptions. We have, therefore, three names for this god: Orophylax, Sozon, and Herakles. The first is a mere title; the third identifies him with a Greek deity to whom he shows some analogy; Sozon is more remarkable. The following inscription from Sinda (which I copied in a cemetery beside Aghlan Keui in 1884, and which therefore belongs to the same district as the rock-reliefs) throws some light on it:

MHNICATTOΛΩΝ
OYEAΥTΩZΩN
KAINANATHΓYNA
ZΩCH KI
IEPEYCΔHMHTPOC
KAICAOAZOY

Μῆνις Ἀπολ(λ)ων[ί-
ου εἰαυτῷ ζῶν
καὶ Νάνα τῇ γυναι[ι]κὶ
ζώσῃ
ἱερεὺς Δημητρὸς
καὶ Σαοάζου.

Saoazos is a variant of the commoner *Sabazios*, and is probably nearer the pronunciation of the district. The worship of *Sabazios* has been recognised at Tefenni by MM. Duchesne and Collignon, and there can be little doubt that this "Saviour-god," who was the great object of worship in the district, is simply the well-known Phrygian *Sabazios*. The name *Sozon* was, I believe, suggested as a Greek title of suitable meaning approximating in sound to the native *Saoazos*. The series of figures of various types, a horseman bearing club or battle-axe and sometimes with radiated head, must be interpreted as representing *Sabazios*; and the common type on Phrygian, Pisidian, and Lydian coins, which Mr. Head catalogues as an Amazon, ought to bear the name *Sabazios*. A dedication Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Μητρὶ Ἀπόλλωνος (*Bull. Corr. Hell.*, II, p. 174), *i. e.*, Apollon and Leto, may serve to prove that in this district *Sabazios* was the name given to the son of the goddess Leto, and may show us the cultus of Leto at an intermediate point between Perga and Hierapolis (see II).

The worship of Men in the same district is also vouched for by inscriptions, both published and unpublished. Men and *Sabazios* appear to me almost equivalent names. The idea that Men was the moon-god is due to popular etymology identifying the name with the Greek word for "month." The crescent horns, which in many representations mark him as the moon-god, are, I think, a mere misunderstanding of archaic wings on the shoulders.

⁵⁰ I read *σορ'* on the rock: my copy indicates no doubt. Mr. SMITH prints ΣΟΡ, and transcribes (ε)ορ'.

B. THE PHRYGO-KARIAN FRONTIER.

Following the lines of Diocletian, I shall enumerate under Karia the next towns south of Themissonion. The frontier lay, as is plain from Hierokles, between Kibyra and Themissonion. I shall now show more narrowly that it lay between Themissonion and Phylakaion, and north of the river Indos.

B. 4. PHYLAKAION or Pylakaion is mentioned only by Ptolemy, as in southern Phrygia, and by *Geographus Ravenn.*, which proves it to have been on a Roman road. We have now completely exhausted southern Phrygia except the road between Themissonion and Kibyra. Beside Derekeui, about 9 miles south of Themissonion, on the road to Kibyra, there is an ancient site. Now in the Peutinger Table we find :

“Laudicium Pylicum

Themissonio XXXIIII Cormassa XII Perge.”

It is usual to understand Laudicium Pylicum as *Laodikeia ἐπὶ Λύκῳ*; but, first, the Table was taken from a Latin, not a Greek source;⁵¹ secondly, *ἐπὶ Λύκῳ* does not explain the termination of Pylicum. In *Pylicum* I recognize Pylakaion, and find two roads mixed and confused in the Table :

“(1) Cormassa [XXI Comama XIII Cretopolis XXVI] Perge. (2) Laodiceia XXXIIII Themissonion [IX] Pyliceum [XX Cibyra XXXVI Isinda] XII [Termessos XVIII] Perge.”

Phylakaion may be recognized in the Byzantine period. The last three names on Hierokles' Karian list are *Χωρία Πατριμόνια, Κιβύρα, Κοκτημαλικαί*: the last is obviously corrupt: the beginning is assimilated to the preceding Kibyra, and the word is *Ktema-likai*. The original form was *Ktema [Py]likai[on]*, and *Χωρία Πατριμόνια* is a dittography. If Phylakaion was an imperial estate, we should then understand why it alone of all the towns on this road did not coin money.

This position of Phylakaion near the Lykian frontier is confirmed by a passage in Ptolemy v. 2. 27, which should be read *παρὰ μὲν τὴν Λυκίαν Φυλακήσιοι*⁵² *καὶ Θεμισώνιοι, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μοκκαδηνοί[?] καὶ Κιδυησοεῖς, ὑφ' οὓς Πελητηνοί[?], εἶτα Μοξεανοί, εἶτα Λυκάονες, ὑφ' οὓς Ἱεραπολίται.* With this slight change, which crept in through the similar beginning of *Λυκάονες* and *Λυκίαν*, the geographical order is correct: on *Μοξεανοί* see my *C. and B.*, p. 422; the *Lykaones*

⁵¹ Compare *Tavium [T]rogmor[um]*, *Massilia Grecorum*, etc.

⁵² This form can hardly be correct. *Μοκκαδηνοί* should be *Μακ(εδόνες) Καδοηνοί*.

are the people in the valley called Cutchuk Sitchanli Ova between Sandikli and Afium Kara Hirsar, immediately east of the Moxeanoi, and I long ago proved that the Hierapolitai are the people of the Sandikli valley.⁵³ The proper form of the name is uncertain: Pylik[ai]um (*Tab. Peut.*), [Phy]likai[on] (*Hier.*), Pylakaion and Phylakaion (*Ptol.*), Filaction (*Geogr. Ravenn.*) all occur. The forms in Ptolemy are probably Grecised to suit a supposed connection with φύλαξ.

B. 5. ERIZA, which lies near Ishkian Bazar, between Phylakaion and Kibyra,⁵⁴ is mentioned by Hierokles as Erezos, and in the *Notitiae* as Siza. Included in Phrygia, before the time of Diocletian, it was thenceforward comprised in Karia. A few coins ΕΡΙΖΗΝΩΝ exist.

A milestone, which I copied at Tcham Keui in 1884 (probably in the territory of Eriza), belongs to the Roman Road, Themissonion-Kibyra:

ΤΟΙΣΘΕΩΝ	Τοῖς Θεῶν [ἐπιφανεστάτοις
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ	Αὐτοκράτο[ρι Καίσαρι Λ.
ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΩΣΕΥΗ	Σεπτιμίῳ Σευή[ρφ Περ-
ΤΙΝΑΚΙΣΕΒΑΣ	τίνακι Σεβασ[τῶ Ἀραβικῶ
ΑΔ ΗΝΙΚΩΠ	Ἀδ[ιαβ]ηνικῶ Π[αρθικῶ
ΚΑΙΑ ΟΚΡΑΤΟ	καὶ Α[ὐτ]οκράτο[ρι Καίσαρι Μ.
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΑΝΤΩΝ	Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντων[εῖνῳ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ	Σεβαστῶ[καὶ Π. Σεπ-
//////////	[τιμίῳ Γέτῳ υἱῶ? τῶν]
ΓΑΛΩΝΙΑ	με]γάλων [Β]α[σιλέων καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΙΙΗΤΓΙΛΛΑΚΑ	Σεβαστῇ μητέρα (sic) Κά[στρον.
ΑΙ ΟΙ ΊΒΥΙ	Ἀ[π]ὸ [Κ]ιβύ[ρας Μιλια δυνάδεκα?

The inscriptions found at Asha Dodurga and Yokari Dodurga also belong to the territory of Eriza: these are *C. I. G.*, 4380 *r, s, t, u, v.*; and *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1885, p. 324.⁵⁵ Others, copied by Sterrett and myself in 1884, will shortly, I hope, be published by him. These prove that the people considered themselves Pisidians, as Strabo also (p. 570) must have done, and that they probably used the era of Kibyra, A. D. 25.

B. 6. SEBASTOPOLIS of Karia occurs in Hierokles, not in the *Notitiae*. Its apparent omission must be due to the fact that the official name Sebastopolis was replaced by the old native name:⁵⁶ it is uncertain

⁵³ *Trois Villes Phrygiennes* in *Bull. Corr. Hellén.*, 1882.

⁵⁴ On the exact situation, see E.

⁵⁵ Understanding that the name *Durdurkar* is a mistake for Dodurga or Todurga.

⁵⁶ So in late Byzantine time Diokaisareia of Isauria becomes *Prakana*.

which of the strange names *Ταπασσῶν, Μετάβων, Προμισοῦ, Ἀνωτέραιτης* is to be given to Sebastopolis. Its discovery is due to Schönborn.

B. 7. SINDA is mentioned only by Livy (see **E**). It was apparently a small place, which was merged either in Kibyra or in Eriza.

B. 8. KIBYRA was, under the Roman Empire, along with Eriza and Phylakaion, reckoned to Phrygia, and the tone of Kibyratian inscriptions tends to connect it with the country to the east rather than with Karia and the west. The frontier of Byzantine Karia and Pamphylia lay between Kibyra and Lagbe. It is clear that, as might be expected, the rearrangement of the provinces interfered very little with the old lines of demarcation. Phrygia and Karia were carved out of the single Asia, but the line separating Lykia-Pamphylia from the older Asia continued to separate them from the new Karia-Phrygia.

A. PHRYGIA.

IX. TAKINA.—For the full text,⁵⁷ and an account of the inaccurate copies previously published, of the important inscription which gives this name, see A. H. S., No. 12. Takina is mentioned also by the *Geogr. Ravenn.* as Tagina, and by Ptolemy as Γάζηνα (which must be corrected to Τάξηνα). I know no other instances of the name. Takina, being mentioned by the *Geogr. Rav.*, must have stood on a Roman road.⁵⁸ This is confirmed by the milestone (Smith-Ramsay, 1884; ⁵⁹ *Ephem. Epigraph.*, v, p. 593). It is one of the series erected on the roads of Asia, from the Hellespont to the Pisidian frontier, by Manius Aquilius, about 130 B. C. The number engraved on it in Greek and Latin is CKΓ, CCXXIII, which, like all others on the milestones of Aquilius, must be the distance from Ephesos. Now the distance from Takina by the nearest pass to Kolossai and Laodikeia, and thence by the ordinary road (see **V. ATTOUDDA**) to Ephesos, is only about 166 Roman miles. It is plain, therefore, that the Roman road made a circuit, and that the distances were measured for all the way along the road. There are only two possibilities: the distance may have been measured by way of Laodikeia, Themissonion, Keretapa; or by way of Laodikeia, Apameia, and the shore of Lake Askania. The distances along both are given in

⁵⁷ In l. 7 he reads *Βασιλῶτης*, assuming a name *Βασιλῶτη*: it would perhaps be better to read *Βασιλῶ τῆς θυγατρὸς*. His transcription of the other Takinaean inscriptions contains several errors, which can be easily corrected by any reader.

⁵⁸ The obvious close relation to *Tab. Peut.* makes this practically certain.

⁵⁹ I again verified the text in 1886.

the following table: from Ephesos to Attoudda, I take the distance as measured along the railway, and for the rest I depend on my own map drawn, with the aid of a survey, in preparation for a proposed extension of the Ottoman railway to Apameia. My map is on the scale of 4 English statute miles per inch: I measured with a compass the number of inches along the line of the road, assuming that it ran straight from inch to inch, and added one in twenty for the necessary winding of the road.

Ephesos		Ephesos	
Attoudda	93	Laodikeia	107
Laodikeia	107	Apameia	173
Themissonion	141	Mallos (Kilij)	191
Keretapa	162	Adada (Elles)	205
Takina	176	Takina	223

From this table it follows that Aquillius measured along the great eastern highway, which, from 400 B. C. to 300 A. D., formed the backbone of Anatolian communication, as far as Apameia, and then turned down southwards round the frontier of the province. He carried the road at least as far as Takina, but there can be little doubt that it was continued to Keretapa and Themissonion either by him or in later time. It is also obvious, from the table, that the Roman road took the shortest possible line. The distance measured along the line of the rails, existing or projected, from Ephesos to Apameia is $178\frac{1}{2}$ English statute miles: according to the above table, the distance in Roman miles along the same road is 173 miles. The line of the road does not actually lie through such cities as Magnesia, Tralleis, Nyssa, Antiokheia:⁶⁰ and the table shows that the sum of separate distances from city to city must be decidedly greater than the distance from end to end.

The line of the road constructed by Manius Aquillius must have been on Roman soil: lake Askania must therefore have been the boundary between Roman Asia and non-Roman Pisidia. It is probable,⁶¹ that the same boundary continued between Asia and Pisidia, first when the latter became Roman and was attached to the province of Galatia, and afterwards when a great part of Pisidia was attached to the new

⁶⁰ Apameia, Laodikeia, Karoura, on the other hand, are directly on the line of the road.

⁶¹ It cannot however be inferred with certainty that the whole line of road must have always continued to be in the same province. The road Kibyra-Alaston is measured from Kibyra in Asia, and yet runs for the most part through Pisidia (see below).

province of Lycia-Pamphylia by Vespasian. The Roman cities at Elles and Kilij were therefore probably cities of Asia.

Takina is not mentioned in the Byzantine lists: Hierokles, however, mentions Valentia in this part of Phrygia, and Valentia is mentioned as a bishopric in the Councils of 451 and 553. These references show that Valentia was a temporary name of a bishopric which in earlier and later time must occur under a different name. Takina and Valentia are therefore probably the same. In the earlier classes of *Notitiae*, Takina-Valentia is omitted with the rest of this district (see KOLOSSAI). In *Notitiae* of the latest class, it is perhaps included in the bishoprics of Pamphylia Tertia (see D).

We have seen that Elles must have been in Asia at the time of Aquilius, and that it would probably continue attached to that province till Diocletian's time. But geographically it is connected with Pisidia rather than with Phrygia. A coin of Adada (Mionnet *Supplem.* and Friedländer's *Appendix* to Hirschfeld) gives a magistrate's name; and, according to M. Waddington's law, this proves that Adada was in the province Asia. But Ptolemy's authority and other considerations place Adada in Pisidia. The order of Hierokles leads me to place Adada at Elles, and this position explains the contradiction among the authorities. The legend ΑΔΑΔΑΤΩΝ on the coin above quoted is misunderstood by Friedländer: it should be accented Ἀδαδατῶν, as genitive plural of an ethnic Ἀδαδάτης, used for the commoner Ἀδαδεύς. The name Elles, more correctly Elyes or Ilyas, is a corruption of Saint Elias, who was therefore the saint of the church of Adada. The order of Hierokles makes Kilij the site of Mallos, which is doubtless the Mallos πρὸς Χῶμα Σακηνόν of Pisidian inscriptions: in that case Χῶμα Σακηνόν is perhaps the fine mountain called by the Turks Ai Doghmush ("the Rising Moon"), south of Apameia.

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[To be continued. N. B. The map which is to accompany this paper will appear in Part II.]